

own position on free and liberalized trade with China and those who argue for or against constructive engagement will, in a matter of weeks, come to this floor to dispute not the facts, only the policy conclusion, because there are those who argue in good faith and will do so in this Chamber that regardless of these conclusions and all the evidence at hand, that if we will only put these facts aside and continue with a policy of liberalized trade, almost certainly as the day follows the night, the Chinese leadership will recognize the error of their ways, share their new prosperity with their people, allow free expression within their institutions and among the Chinese people, and in due course a new government more respectful of international commitments and of human rights will almost certainly evolve.

Mr. President, the simple truth is 8 years have passed since Tiananmen Square. Free expression is not better; it is worse. Respect for the many faiths has not been enhanced; it has deteriorated. Commitment to arms control and a more responsible policy of restricting dangerous technologies for nuclear weapons and missile technologies has not been enhanced; it is also worse.

Mr. President, we do the cause of freedom and the security of our country no benefit by postponing reaching the horrible truth. The 21st century, Mr. President, will be guided by whether or not there is progress in China in respecting her own people and being a responsible member of the international community. This relationship, more than any other in the world, will answer the critical question of whether the 21st century will be more peaceful, more respectful of humankind, and respect human life more than any other single relationship the United States will have with any other nation in the world. The facts would argue that this policy of constructive engagement is not leading us to that different future.

Last year, the United States had a \$40 billion trade deficit with China. This year, it will pass \$50 billion. Patience and understanding is not leading China to recognize their obligations as a trading partner. From piracy of copyrighted CD's, to laser discs, to pharmaceutical products, the United States is losing billions of dollars' worth of intellectual property of our own people. In trying to continue to riddle our barriers with exports, with high tariffs, quotas, licensing agreements and discriminatory practices, patience is not leading China to become a responsible trading partner any more than it is leading to respect of rights, or religion, or arms control.

Mr. President, last week in Detroit, the House minority leader, Mr. GEPHARDT, asked that we ground our policy toward China on principle and that it be consistent with other aspects of American foreign policy in our own history. He asked us to remember the words of William Allen White, who

said, "Whoever is fighting for liberty is defending America."

The questions that we face with regard to policy on China may be larger because of the enormous power and size of the Chinese nation, but they are not novel. We have faced these issues before in Rhodesia, South Africa, Eastern Europe, and the former Soviet Union. We have found that trade sanctions—and in its most modest form, the denial of preferred trade status—is not only a legitimate but an effective means of promoting human rights and changing national policies. Jackson-Vanik was a remarkable success in leading the Soviet Union to change its immigration policy toward Jews and dissidents by withholding trade preference. Apartheid in South Africa was met by a denial of a policy of constructive engagement by simply refusing to allow our markets to be open until South Africa abandoned apartheid, and it succeeded. Those policies worked in the past.

Today, we impose much stricter policies toward Cuba, Libya, Iraq, Iran, and North Korea—in many instances, for the same violations of arms control agreements, irresponsible sharing of dangerous technologies, violations of human rights, of religion and speech, for the very same instances that I take this floor today to cite in the case of China and which, ironically, will be ceded by proponents of most-favored-nation status for China, we have a policy of denying trade preference. For China, we seek to see a different conclusion, while we cede the same facts.

Mr. President, I argue, however, for more than consistency. I argue that because China has violated these critical rights of her own people, because her Government continues without the consent of the governed and therefore is inherently unstable and potentially dangerous, because these rights have been violated, trade agreements with the United States have been ignored, because dangerous technologies are being shared with the world despite commitments to the contrary, China should not be the exception, she should be the rule. Withholding these trade preferences are not less important because of China's size and power. They are more important.

Mr. President, regardless of our party, our philosophy, or our ideology, I know no Member of the Senate wants anything but friendship with the Chinese people. They have a rich culture, a great history, and in their hands, perhaps more than those of any other people on Earth, lies the question of peace, freedom, and prosperity for the many peoples of the globe.

Mr. President, as President Roosevelt concluded in his State of the Union Address 60 years ago, he reminded us that we needed to be governed by reality and not hope. He concluded, Mr. President, by saying:

No realistic American can expect from a dictator's peace international generosity, or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or free-

dom of religion—or even good business. Such a peace would bring no security for us or our neighbors.

Mr. President, so be it. The world turns, generations succeed generations, but some truth remains eternal. The wisdom that Roosevelt brought to that dark day facing the authoritarianism of the Third Reich and of fascism, facing the prospect of a cold war he may not have been able to predict, but whose dimensions were beginning to become clear, the wisdom of that day can govern us as well. It is time to face the truth about China.

I know every Member of this Senate wishes they had a chance to revisit in history the gulag, the concentration camps, all the blindness that we brought, the terrible problems of fascism and communism. We all wish that we could have seen the world as clearly as Roosevelt saw it on that day. We didn't all have his wisdom. We could not have all seen the future as clearly.

Mr. President, there is no changing history, but there is still time for the 21st century. I rise today, Mr. President, to ask my colleagues to see China as it is, not as we would have it be. Someday, we will be accountable to the Chinese people themselves, and they will ask: Did you stand with us while we sought to worship our God? Did you defend us when we wanted to speak to our own future? Did you stand with us when we sought to choose our own government? Or, as you did in Iran, as you did often in the cases of communism, as you did in the early years of fascism, did you pretend to see the world as you would have it rather than the facts as they were presented to you? Were you part of change? Did you challenge our leaders? Did you put a price on their oppression? Or did you conspire with them in silence?

Mr. President, that is the choice before us. It is not new. It has faced every generation that has ever stood on the floor of this Senate, every generation that ever succeeded the governance of this country. In a few weeks, when most-favored-nation status becomes an issue on the floor of this Senate, it will come again. I urge my colleagues to confront it with wisdom and reality, recognizing the extraordinary consequences for a new time and a new century, which we so desperately want to be different than the past.

Thank you, Mr. President. I yield the floor.

#### PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Delia Lasanta, John Stone, and Hassan Tyler be admitted to the floor for the duration of my speech.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Florida [Mr. GRAHAM] is recognized.

(The remarks of Mr. GRAHAM pertaining to the introduction of S. 889 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

#### U.S. FOREIGN OIL CONSUMPTION FOR WEEK ENDING JUNE 6

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, the American Petroleum Institute reports that for the week ending June 6, the United States imported 8,429,000 barrels of oil each day, 421,000 barrels more than the 8,008,000 imported each day during the same week a year ago.

Americans relied on foreign oil for 56.6 percent of their needs last week, and there are no signs that the upward spiral will abate. Before the Persian Gulf war, the United States obtained approximately 45 percent of its oil supply from foreign countries. During the Arab oil embargo in the 1970's, foreign oil accounted for only 35 percent of America's oil supply.

Anybody else interested in restoring domestic production of oil? By U.S. producers using American workers?

Politicians had better ponder the economic calamity sure to occur in America if and when foreign producers shut off our supply—or double the already enormous cost of imported oil flowing into the United States—now 8,429,000 barrels a day.

#### THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE REUNIFICATION OF JERUSALEM

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I would like to join my colleagues in congratulating Israel on the 30th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem and in welcoming Senate passage of Senate Concurrent Resolution 21, which reaffirmed the Senate's views on this issue. This important event came about as a result of the 1967 Six-Day war, before which the city of Jerusalem was divided, with Jews denied access to the Old City and its holy sites.

We should not underestimate the significance of this event. Jerusalem has been undivided now for 30 years. As a result, people of all religious traditions have access to Jerusalem and all its religious sites. On this anniversary, and with Senate passage of Senate Concurrent Resolution 21, we commit ourselves again to seeing that Jerusalem remains an undivided city in which the rights of every ethnic and religious group are protected.

This anniversary presents a good opportunity for us to assess progress toward peace in the Middle East. While the peace process is moving at a slower pace than many of us would like to see, it is important to acknowledge the difficulty of the task and the progress that has been made thus far under the Oslo accords. It is also important to point out the importance of security as the process unfolds. Previous terrorist attacks have provided graphic justification of Israel's security concerns. I urge the Palestinian Authority to see that its security forces cooperate fully

with Israeli security to thwart the work of the terrorists.

Again, I congratulate the people of Israel on the 30th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem, and I commend them for ensuring that this holy and historic city is undivided.

Mr. FORD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. FORD. Since there is no other Senator here, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ENZI). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent I be permitted to speak for 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I further ask that, upon the completion of my remarks, the Senator from North Dakota, Senator DORGAN, be recognized for the 15 minutes that has been allotted to him as well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### DEVILS LAKE FLOOD

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I have taken to the floor numerous times since the disasters that struck North Dakota and attempted to describe to my colleagues the really remarkable series of events that we have experienced: First of all, the greatest snowfall in our State's history; followed by a winter storm in early April that was the most powerful winter storm in 50 years, knocking out the electrical grid to 80,000 people for more than a week, leaving people with 15-foot snowdrifts, leaving people with the most powerful ice storm that we have ever seen that killed literally hundreds of thousands of cattle in North and South Dakota and also tied up the transportation system for most of our State, as well as much of South Dakota and parts of Minnesota. That was then followed by the 500-year flood, which was cataclysmic in Grand Forks. All of the dikes failed, a city of 50,000 was evacuated. Many of those people are still not back in their homes. In fact, 80 percent of the city of Grand Forks was in some way damaged by the floods. And, in the midst of all that, a fire broke out that destroyed much of downtown Grand Forks.

This is a series of events, unparalleled in our State's history, and it has left much of our economy in ruins. It has left people sleeping on cots, living in cars, wondering what will happen to them next. And, as I think everyone here knows now, the disaster bill has been delayed.

But the good news is, there are serious negotiations underway to resolve this issue and resolve it today, and for that we are extremely grateful.

Mr. President, I thought today, because I have spent a great deal of time describing the circumstances in Grand Forks, ND, and in the rest of the Red River Valley, that I would take a bit of time to describe the developing disaster in Devils Lake, ND, because not only have we had this remarkable series of events in the Red River Valley, but Devils Lake, a town of over 9,000 people, has had a slow-motion disaster occurring. This is one of only two major lakes in North America that has a closed basin—no inlet and no outlet. For the last 4 years, the lake has been rising inexorably.

This chart shows the historic water level of Devils Lake. This chart goes from 1867 to 1997, 130 years. You can see the recorded history is the blue line. Recorded history starts back in about 1890, and the lake was at about 1,423 feet. It then went into a period of steep decline where it went down to just over 1,400 feet. But look what has happened since the 1930's. That lake has been rising, sometimes falling, but in recent history, in the last 30 years, rising dramatically. And in the last 4 years, this lake has just gone up and up and up.

Some people might say, "Well, the lake is rising. You know, that's not that big a deal."

Mr. President, this lake is nearly 200 square miles. It is a huge lake. It is nearly three times the size of the entire area of the District of Columbia. This is a lake that is rising inexorably and is acting like a cancer. It is eating everything around it. It is submerging roads, it is inundating homes and bridges. It is just eating up the countryside. In the last 4 years, it has tripled in volume and doubled in size. It is very hard to understand or appreciate this circumstance, because nowhere else in the country do we face anything quite like it.

Mr. President, if I can just show this next chart, it shows the summary of damages in the Devils Lake area. As this lake level rises, you can see what happens to the cost in terms of damages. Already we have spent over \$114 million, and that is just from the Federal Government, addressing this disaster. But you can see as the water level rises, the estimates from the Army Corps of Engineers is that we would face over \$400 million in Federal costs if the lake level continues to rise. As I indicated, the Federal Government has already spent over \$114 million coping with this crisis.

This next picture shows the lake and how it has expanded. You can see, this is the luckiest guy in America today. He just got through on this road. He was driving along, and it looks like he escaped from the lake. You can see the lake coming over the road. This is actually a road, the Minnewaukan Flats Road, completely covered by water now. You can see the various tree lines.